

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

Vol. I—No. 3

OCTOBER 17, 1914

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Why the American Attitude is Important

MR. Casimir Gonski, a prominent Milwaukee attorney, gave in the "Milwaukee Sentinel" a forceful presentation of the Polish Question in its relation to the people of the United States. The following extract contains points in his appeal which command special attention:

Although the Poles have undying confidence in the eternal justice of their cause, they view these promises and assurances of the various powers with that suspicion which is born of more than a century's experience. In the case of the warring powers these promises are made under duress, as it were. The termination of the war may suppress the good resolutions in those who will then be powerful enough to ignore and forget them.

England, as a nation, is unanimous and sincere in her advocacy of a restored Poland. What her foreign policy would be in this respect is altogether a matter of conjecture. France has ever been in sympathy with the Polish cause; true, more volubly than actively, and just at present she has her own troubles to attend to, and is in no position to even promise, although we value her good will.

But the world's opinion in favor of Polish independence would be a most potent factor toward its realization and it is for this reason that we bespeak the good will of the American nation for our cause. And surely, it is a most worthy cause. Time and again this nation has spoken on behalf of the oppressed; the military and naval power of the United States have been employed to gain freedom for peoples whose liberty has been encroached upon. The cause of Irish home rule was aided and incalculably advanced by American public opinion.

It is but natural that the Polish people, forming a nation of more than 30,000,000 should look to America and ask the American people for that aid which their cause deserves, for justice, sympathy and fair play, for the tremendous moral force of the indorsement of the efforts of the Polish people to regain their freedom.

The atrocious historical crime of Poland's dismemberment calls for reparation; the participants in that crime are at war with each other and if they do not recognize the retributive justice which has brought this awful conflict upon them, it is to be hoped that they will regard the restoration of Poland as a matter of expediency for their own good and the maintenance of lasting peace.

We do not expect either justice or sympathy from Prussia or Russia. Their course of conduct, their policy toward Poland and their Polish subjects under their respective domain, during more than 100 years, has been so vindictively and barbarously cruel as to give them the character of permanency. As the leopard can not change his spots, so Prussia and Russia will not change the attitude of their respective government as long as one true Pole remains subject to their dictates. Their policy has been one of extermination, not of conciliation and efforts toward amalgamation.

The knout, Siberia and the gallows constitute Russia's course; were I to enumerate Prussia's cruel wrongs toward her unfortunate Polish subjects, this article would quickly

assume an incentive character. But it would be moral cowardice to cover those wrongs with a mantle of silence and let the reader conjecture.

Prussia has ever followed Bismarck's order: to kill the Polish spirit. To this end Prussia's government has suppressed the Polish language and made its use punishable by imprisonment and fine; it has suppressed and forbidden public or private meetings at which the Polish language was used or intended, or any other language, if the object of meeting was to be of Polish character; it has forbidden the teaching of the language, for which crime the writer's own sister has suffered imprisonment; (and yet she teaches); it has forbidden the holding of property by Polish subjects, be he peasant or noble, he must yield the soil of his forefathers to a Prussian subject at a price fixed by the Prussian government; it has forbidden the religious instruction of Polish children in the Polish language, it has driven them from the house of God if they wanted to pray in Polish; it has attempted to compel them to pray in the German language and when those brave children of brave fathers refused to pray to their God in any language than the one which they learned at their mother's knees, the Prussian government has beaten them, some of them even unto death.

Bismarck, great statesman that he was, did not know that a body might be killed but not the spirit; that the more a spirit is fettered, the stronger it grows, and now this spirit stalks the tents of the Hohenzollerns, the chambers of the Romanoffs and Habsburgs and will not let them rest until they right their cruel wrongs.

And while thus the Polish spirit marches on, the bodies of Poland's sons are being killed in the armies of their oppressors, the three powers at war with each other.

Poland has given so much to this world! She has built a goodly portion of the foundation of today's civilization; she has enriched science and art; the world is the better for her beautiful music, her stirring literature and vivid paintings; humanity is the better for the discoveries in the realm of chemistry; she has populated the earth with her sturdy sons who so eagerly have tilled the soil, that even barren fields have brought forth fertility; she has taught the world how to persevere in adversity, how to love one's country, how to cherish one's religion and that language in which the child's lisping lips have first uttered the word which the mother taught; she has shed the blood of her sons so that the children of other lands might have their freedom.

Surely, surely, such a nation deserves life, deserves liberty. Let then this appeal find a ready bearing with the justice loving people of our beloved country. No true American, of whatever birth or extraction he may be, can fail to give his indorsement to Poland's efforts, can fail to wish that her efforts may be crowned with success, so that out of the chaos of this terrible conflict Poland may rise again.



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Some Phases of Polish Culture

By MAX A. DREZMAL



THE average American is too prone to judge the cultural status of the Polish people by the mental capacity of the unskilled Polish laborer whom he may chance to meet in a mine or factory in this country. Such a test is unfair and erroneous. The superficial observer is apt to overlook the fact that these immigrants come principally from the rural districts of Austrian and Russian Poland where, for political reasons, opportunities for self-improvement and education are either very meager or non-existent and that only sheer poverty has driven them to this hospitable land to better their economical condition. Human nature is the same throughout the whole civilized world and man is a creature of his environment. It is extremely doubtful whether an American, an Englishman or any other member of the Caucasian race, born and reared under the political and economical conditions now existing in Poland, would be different in any respect from the newly-arrived Polish peasant. The inability of the latter to speak the language of the country naturally makes him shy and prevents a better knowledge of his many admirable traits of character: his intense religious nature, his rugged common sense, his love of music and deep appreciation of the blessings of liberty. Thrifty and industrious by habit, his highest ambition is to own a home and give his children the advantages of an education. Despotism and enlightenment cannot thrive together and the American of to-day is the product of a wise, beneficent and liberal system of self-government, which is denied to the Poles by the autocratic powers which dismembered their country.

But as we look for the highest expression of American culture in all its phases, not among the mountaineers of Eastern Kentucky or the Western plainsmen, but in the great centers of population, so too, the student who desires to obtain a knowledge of Polish culture must seek for it in the leading cities of Poland, in Warsaw, Lemberg, Cracow and Posen with their universi-

ties, libraries, technical schools, art studios, museums, theaters, musical conservatories, churches of great architectural beauty and numerous monuments of past glories and achievements. A perusal of even the concise articles on these cities in any standard encyclopedia must convince an unbiased reader that Poland possesses a culture which will not suffer by comparison with that of any other civilized nation.

There are several reasons for this high state of Polish culture. The vicissitudes, through which the nation has passed, have given birth to a great patriotic literature. The brutal measures adopted by the despoilers of Poland to Germanize and Russianize the nation have only intensified the attachment of the Polish people for their country, language, traditions and customs. Oppression begets resistance: the stronger the oppression the greater has been the growth of the national spirit.

Two of the most efficacious media for the preservation of the national spirit and language have been the pulpit and the press. To the peculiar economical and political conditions in Poland may also be traced the high standard of Polish culture. There is no doubt that if Poland was united and free, she, with her 25,000,000 population and great natural resources would be able to maintain great industrial and commercial establishments. At present unrestricted trade between Poles in various sections of the country is greatly impeded by the almost prohibitive tariff walls erected by Russia, Germany and Austria. Thus a Polish farmer in Prussian Poland cannot, except at heavy additional expense, patronize a Polish manufacturer in Warsaw or Lodz in Russian Poland, but is forced to purchase "goods made in Germany". Being in a state of subjection to governments to whose spirit and language they are strangers and to whose policies they are opposed, they are barred from a participation in the larger political affairs of government. Debarred thus from commercial pursuits and political activities, the genius and energy of the people finds an outlet in art, science, and literature in all their

branches. In these fields of intellectual endeavor the Poles have always held their own.

The names of Chopin, Wieniawski, Paderewski, Hoffman, Sliwinski are familiar to all American lovers of music, but it is not generally known that it was in the highly artistic atmosphere of Warsaw that the genius of these men first bloomed and developed. What city in America or in England can boast of as gifted artists?

Recognizing the stage, when properly divided, as an agency of great educational value, every Polish city of any importance, grants subventions to local theaters. Plays and operas are produced for their intrinsic literary and artistic merit and not with an eye to the box-office receipts. Beside works of native dramatists and composers, translations of English, French, German and Scandinavian classics, as well as latest "successes", are performed. Even the ancient tragedies of Greece, at intervals, receive reverent treatment at the hands of the actors and the public. The plays of Shakespeare are produced more frequently and with better scenic effects in the larger cities of Poland than they are in New York or Chicago. Some of George Bernard Shaws comedies were presented in Poland and his paradoxes were discussed in polite Polish circles long before they were seen in America.

Literature always played an important part in the intellectual life of Poland. There is no country in which writers are held in higher esteem and where journalists wield a greater influence. In every center of population there are daily and weekly newspapers which differ greatly from the American newspapers in contents. Much less space is given to the news of the day and a great deal of space is devoted to carefully prepared articles by specialists in the great political, social and economical questions of the day, to book reviews, dramatic criticism and reports of the latest paintings and statuary exhibited in the art centers of Europe. A special feature of each paper is an original novel, published serially, by a native writer or a translation of some work by a distinguished English, French, German or Scandinavian author who has attracted general European attention. The reader is thus kept in close touch with the trend of the times and the newspapers, thus conducted, not only give employment to a large staff of special writers but are a powerful stimulus to literature. The anniversaries of the literary and journalistic labors of any writer, who has won distinction, are made the occasion of public celebrations. They are observed not only by feasts and public receptions but often by substantial gifts to the guests of honor. When the twenty-fifth anniversary of the literary work of the

author of "Quo Vadis" was observed, he was presented with a fine estate purchased with money raised by popular subscription. Nor does the gratitude of the people end with the writer's death. When the brilliant career of Wyspianski, a prominent Polish painter, poet and dramatist was closed in his prime, a few years ago, the city of Cracow not only gave him a public funeral but voted to defray out of the municipal funds all the expenses of the care and education of his children. We have yet to learn of any city in America paying a similar tribute to a favorite son.

What has been said of the high standing of the Polish people in music and literature is equally true of Polish painting, sculpture, historical and scientific researches. A long catalogue of names of Poles who have won distinction in these fields would prove to the average American reader dry and uninteresting reading matter, but it might be interesting to him to know that for every American who has achieved fame as a painter, sculptor, historian, novelist, dramatist or composer, the connoisseur of Polish culture can name one or more sons of Poland of equal ability and merit. This showing is all the more remarkable when we consider that the population of Poland is little more than one-fifth of that of the United States. However in inventive genius, which is fostered by great industrial activity, in political oratory, for which freedom of speech and discussion is indispensable and in the ability for the organization and management of industrial and commercial enterprises on a vast scale, the Poles must take a secondary place.

In making these comparisons it is not intended to minimize the superb mental endowments of the American people. In their chosen field of endeavor, a field calculated to secure the greatest financial rewards and most of the material comforts of life, the Americans stand preeminent. Nations cannot live by culture alone and after all, that civilization is most benignant and that country the best where "the greatest good of the greatest number" is the guiding principle, where prosperity is most widely distributed, where the living conditions of the laboring people are the best, where the rewards for honest toil are the greatest, where the opportunities for acquiring a competence are the most numerous, and where the people enjoy absolute immunity from the blight of militarism. There is only one country in this wide world which corresponds with that description. To that country Poland, in the event of her reunion and resuscitation, will look for light and guidance in solving the governmental and economical problems with which she will be confronted.

Millions For the Palace of Peace, Not a Penny For Peace

By CHARLES WACHTEL



THE Palace of Peace at The Hague stands desolate. The press points to it with regret or sneers. The magnificent structure, erected and generously endowed by the powers now engaged in a death struggle, stands forth as the most stupendous anachronism of our times. They are at one another's throats, they who most volubly spoke of Universal Peace, who buttressed their arguments with ever huger and ever costlier armaments. To-day their "peaceful" efforts are giving forth a bloody crop, and that too in the immediate vicinity of the splendid edifice, which through its empty windows looks out upon a hail of murderous steel, streams of tears and blood, and seas of flame rising from ancient cities. And who knows but that the Palace itself may yet be stormed? For is there anything that the despoiling Prussian fist will square? And if the Germans should invade Holland and be offered resistance by the Dutch, surely all the refined cruelties of this war would fall to the share of the very soil upon which stands the Palace of Peace.

States and governments promised one another to set forms and standards for the settlement of international controversies. They began their work of peace by attempting to mitigate the cruelties of war and announced that war may be declared only under certain prescribed conditions. They formulated regulations for military activities on land and sea. All this was but yesterday. To-day the most horrible war in history is raging through the continent of Europe. The whole diplomatic house of cards, so ingeniously constructed, has collapsed. Negotiations are cast to the winds; guaranties ignored; treaties violated; promises and alliances forgotten. With scant ceremony the opponents grappled with one another and in the fury of the struggle they do not even shrink from the practices of cutthroats.

Mankind is beginning to see again the futility of the artificial machinery of diplomacy and its unnatural and hypocritical combinations. The evidence is conclusive that there cannot be any serious consideration of peace, while burdensome armaments are crushing the people and self-aggrandizement is the chief motive actuating international relations. While one state seeks to

prey upon another, while territorial greed has free play and the strong may with impunity oppress the weak under the motto that "might makes right", so long will all agitation for Universal Peace be like the call of the prophet in the wilderness. Peace can be firmly based upon the granting of equal rights to all the peoples, but not upon political systems and the predatory machinations of powers. Only when the strong and the weak, the large and the small will be able to live side by side in peace and security, when all the strong nations will give the weaker pledges of unmolested existence, and when each violator of these pledges will be punished by all as a thief of the most valuable common good—the universal social order,—only then and under such conditions will come on this earth the Kingdom of God, the Era of Perpetual Peace.

Not sooner.

A logical proof of this fact are the protests of the Belgian government in writing and through commission to all the governments and nations of the world against the German methods of warfare which for their savagery call for vengeance to heaven. They who call the Slavs by no other name than barbarians, who regard themselves as the very flower of human culture, who speak of their enemies only in vulgar and coarse terms and heap upon their own lies abuse and villification, are themselves wreaking their fury on the peaceful populace of Belgium, robbing whatever lies within the reach of their hands, slaying the wounded and helpless, with no consideration for age or sex. Chivalry is banished by the Prussian soldiery, which neglects no means to prove that the veneer of culture is very thin on the skin of the "Krzyżak" *). Without much scruple or bother he casts this veneer off, as soon as with the instinct of the "Raubritter" of old he senses the smell of human blood.

Large were the sums expended by Carnegie on his Palace of Peace and his plans for peace propaganda. Alas, he failed to appropriate in his

*) "Krzyżak"—Knight of the Cross, prototype and forebear of the modern Prussian, invited to Poland in the XIII. century, became secularized in the XIV. century; they ruthlessly exterminated their weaker neighbors with the express purpose of founding a dominion of their own.

budget any sum for the uprooting of the murderous instincts in man, for his spiritual perfection and for the deepening of his feeling of justice, which will furnish the only foundation for peace. Only a just and lawful possession will be secure and peaceful, it will need no defense and the possessor will have no rightful owners to fear, provided, of course, that there are no robbers in society. It may be impossible for a long time for individual communities to rid themselves of such robbers, but it ought to be easy for a world-

citizens devoutly wish it. Will it be the last war?

It is possible that the great powers will exhaust themselves to such an extent and waste their resources so completely that for some time no money will be forthcoming for new armaments. It is possible that in the meantime the more intelligent and cultured nations will look into themselves and behold the unlimited wretchedness, the gehenna of suffering which the hideous war had caused and will collectively take steps to assure peace, not for all time, but for a consider-



Courtesy of the
Polish Daily News

The Royal Castle and the Cathedral Tower on the Wawel Hill in Cracow

community, for organized mankind to purge itself of the predatory element. And when that is accomplished, the necessity will cease for the maintenance by nations of vast armies, armaments and ever new homicidal instruments. The millions and millions of dollars thus released may be converted to the work of perfecting the human feelings, in which lies the gilt-edged security of peace. Thus both results would promote each another.

Hope is alive that the present war in Europe will be the last war of mankind. Eminent statesman call it the last gasp of militarism; private

able period, during which the labor to establish it on a firmer basis may proceed. This labor will not start with the revamping of the Palace of Peace on whose walls are playing the shadows of the conflagration now sweeping through Europe. It will start with the natural foundation, which lies in the conscience of Mankind.

Wells foretells the drawing of a new map of Europe! If this is to be a just map, it will be a good beginning, and the cause of peace will secure new workers who will be both honest and tireless.

Social Work and the Slavs

By THADDEUS SLESZYNSKI



GREAT deal has been written and said about what is being done for the foreigner in this country. A great many criticisms are made concerning his conduct here, but he has received little credit for what he is doing for himself

He has been criticised for his clannishness, for his slowness in learning the English language, for looking forward towards the reestablishment of his lost Fatherland in Europe.

Some have objected to his fight for the maintenance of his national identity, to having his own organizations and his own parochial schools, where his children are taught in his native language. Others have objected to his building beautiful and costly churches and reading only newspapers printed in his own language. We often forget that what he has done for himself has been done without the assistance of endowments or contributions from philanthropists. His institutions are often more democratic than those of others because they are created and supported by the small contributions of large numbers of people.

Whether we approve of the parochial schools or not, we should admire the sacrifices he has made in maintaining them at this own expense. He has created large benevolent organizations, the membership of some amounting to 100,000 men and women. These organizations besides paying death benefit maintain various educational institutions and enterprises. Practically all the individual lodges of these large benevolent organizations maintain a sick benefit fund supported by the individual contributions of the members. The money paid out in this way amounts to many thousands of dollars each year. This doubtless is a more democratic form of relief than most of our American charitable institutions, and though less scientific, it is perhaps nearer the ideal of social insurance.

The foreigners have not built institutions such as lodging houses for the unemployed, but they have welcomed these same people into their own homes. During my work with the United Charities of Chicago I often noticed how much these immigrants did for one another when the only connecting link between them was the fact that the unfortunate came from the same village. These same foreigners often came to appeal for assistance only after they had exhausted their resources and had borrowed hundreds of dollars from their friends.

The American social workers have been trying to help the foreigner a great deal, but in doing so they have aroused much antagonism. They are beginning to realize that perhaps they have been trying to Americanize him too quickly. The foreigner, on the one hand, has been struggling to keep himself and his children loyal to his fatherland; the social worker, on the other, has often ignored this natural loyalty and has been trying to teach the father and his children loyalty to the institutions of this country only. And at times the settlement workers and the public schools have even estranged the children of the immigrants from their parents. They have not taught them the history and customs of their parents. They have forgotten that it is just as important for the children of the foreigner to speak their parents language fluently and to be proud of it — as that their parents after years of hard efforts, should speak a broken English.

I believe it is just as important for the children of the foreigner to know the history and customs of the land of their parents, as it is for their parents to know the facts of the American history, of the lives of Washington and Lincoln. If the children were more interested in the organizations and institutions of their parents, the latter would maintain their influence over them because of the better understanding between them.

Would it not be best for America in the end if the children of the immigrant would perpetuate the characteristics which distinguish them from the Americans, if even the second and third generations would have a knowledge of their native tongue, would practice some of the customs of their forefathers and love their ideals? Would it not be better that even after many generations the descendants of foreigners should maintain their proper names and be proud of their ancestry?

As it is, the children of the immigrant are often ashamed of the nationality of their parents, often change their names beyond recognition, and in this way lose all that was good in their parents.

"We wanted the melting pot to melt the immigrant quickly, but we have found that those who melt too quickly do not add much to the finished product. A melting pot! Yes, — but let it melt slowly and carefully so that the best elements be preserved and fused to bring forth the best possible product."

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To Editors and Publishers

The Polish Question is a timely one throughout the world. The contents of this publication will furnish, we hope, adequate material for use at opportune moments.

CRACOW



RACOW, in Polish *Kraków*, has by various writers been called the "heart of Poland", the "Athens" and the "Westminster Abbey" of Poland. It is all this, and even more. Characteristically Polish, Cracow, founded in the

dawn of prehistoric times, is intimately connected with the rise of Poland.

Tradition has it that Cracow was founded by Krakus, builder of the fortress known as the Wawel, who, by killing the terrible dragon, is hailed as the Polish Beowulf. For several centuries the capital of the kingdom of Poland it was till the last days of its political existence the coronation city of Poland's kings; its rulers were crowned there until 1764.

The Polish kings spared no expense to make

the city a capital in fact as well as in name, and with a lavish hand beautified or endowed its castle, church and university.

Its sacred shrine is the Wawel. The Wawel is really a small fortified city, including a cathedral, chapels, barracks, dwelling-houses and courtyards, all surrounded by a high wall with corner towers. The cathedral crypt is the resting-place of most of the monarchs of Poland.

"The cathedral", says Gabriel Dauchot in his *Immortelle Pologne*, "is full of tombs. Besides her monarchs, Poland laid down here the remains of heroes from the partitional period, beginning with Kosciuszko, whose sword had almost liberated subjugated Poland, and ending with Mickiewicz, who with his inspired song even now consoles the sorrows of his people.

"There is no Pole but would visit the crypt to contemplate the former glory of Poland. A unanimous pilgrimage, a perfect intercourse, which brings it about that Cracow, even amid misfortune, is leading a life full of glory! The city throbs with national feeling, and is constantly being visited by patriotic Poles: it is the ancient heart of Poland that beats to the tune of its time-honored bells."

Wawel has lately been restored, the arsenal and barracks have been removed, and the cathedral once more is enabled to exhale that love of picturesqueness, of religious symbolism, of history, of lavishness, so characteristic of the Pole.

With its gold, silver, jewels, stained glass, sculptures, metal carvings and marbles, the cathedral is of great interest to every student of art and history. The great altar, supported by four massive columns, the beautiful image of Christ, the chapel of St. Stanislaus, one of the patron saints of Poland, the chapel of Zygmunt, a most exquisite piece of Renaissance work, the large figure of Christ — all these are attractions of great antiquity and historical recollection.

The University of Cracow has its beginning in the year of 1364, when Casimir the Great founded a library. The library in two decades had become a university. Forced to close its doors, the university was reorganized in 1400 by Jagiello. It is well to remember that Copernicus, the first to propound the heliocentric theory, spent three years at this institution.

The market place, or *rynek*, with the church of the Virgin Mary, the Drapers' Hall, or *Sukiennice*, the ancient City Hall, the chapel of St. Woj-

ciech, and the monument to the poet Mickiewicz, present a picturesque sight never to be forgotten.

In the square is the stone tablet commemorating the spot where on March 24, 1794, Kosciuszko assumed command of the Polish army, only soon afterward to go down in defeat at Maciejowice.

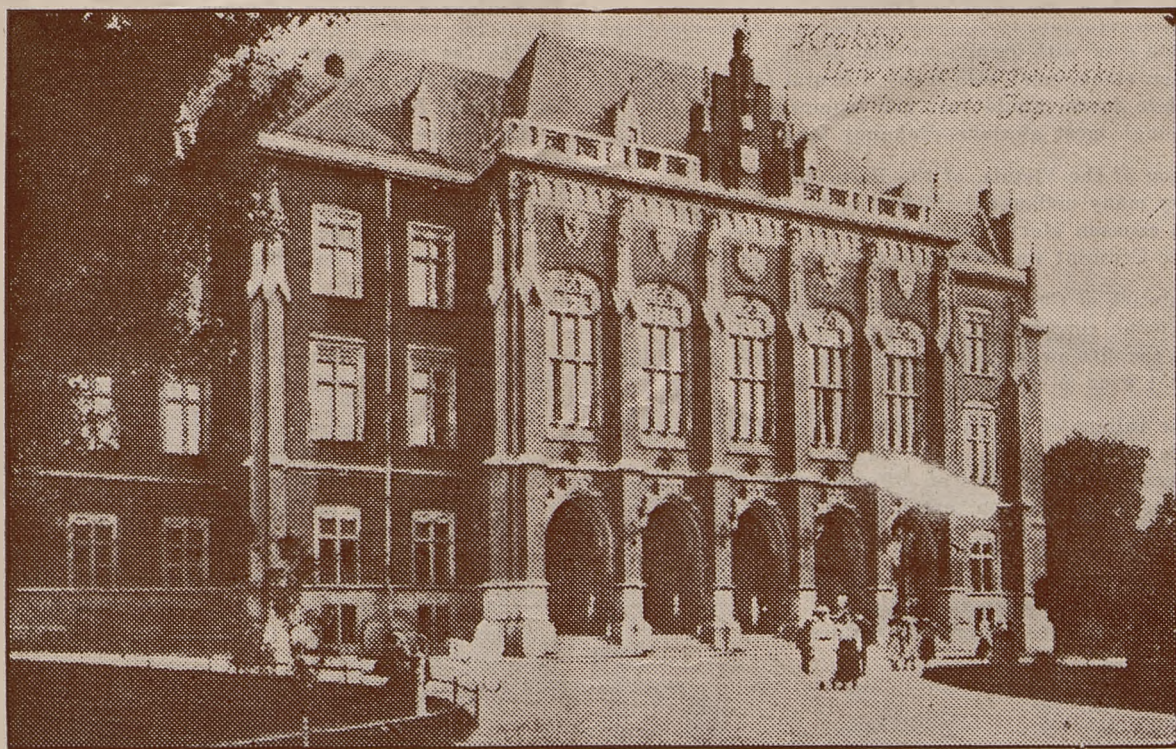
Sukiennice was originally a cloth hall, that is a place for exhibiting wares, especially dress-material, hence its name. Now it contains a gallery for exhibiting paintings, a reception hall, and a museum.

Cracow has many churches, but that of Pan-na Marya is the most interesting in point of

tioned the beautifully shaded boulevards, Jordan Park, the new university, the new home of the Society of Fine Arts, and many handsome residences.

Cracow was four times in the hands of foreign invaders. Bohemian, Mongol, Prussian, Swede, Tatar, Russian, Austrian alike have marched through its streets. Near the frontier of Russia, it is an important stronghold of Austria.

After the dismemberment of Poland, Cracow became an Austrian province and was later occupied by Napoleon and then by Alexander of Russia. Declared by the Congress of Vienna to be



Collegium Jagellonicum Novum—the new building of the University of Cracow

Courtesy Polish Daily News

architecture and antiquity. Of Gothic architecture, with an admixture of Byzantinism, it is profusely lavished with gold, silver, jewels and paintings about three hundred years old restored by the painter John Matejko. It is possessed of beautiful stained windows and a magnificent chapel of Madonna.

The playhouse of Cracow is artistically arranged. The curtain is painted by Siemiradzki, one of the best exponents of the School of Matejko. Here are given many intensely Polish plays, which jealously foster that ardent spirit of patriotism.

Cracow has many modern additions to its antique beauty, chief among which may be men-

a free, independent, and neutral city, it became incorporated (during the social uprisings of 1846-8) with the Austrian Empire.

Cracow, though it is not so European a metropolis as Warsaw has ever remained a characteristic Polish town. If you ask the citizens of Cracow about their progress in commerce and industry, they will answer by pointing with pride to their beloved Wawel.

"Aside from her artists, musicians, and writers", says Louis E. Van Norman in his "Poland: the Knight among nations", "the great things of Poland are chiefly those that have already had their day and their history. Cracow actually lives in the traditions of her great past."




SARMATIA




By JOHN SKIBINSKI

SARMATIA, what sorrows thou hast seen!
One time a brilliant mighty power,
Thou wouldst never shamefully cower,
But e'er defend with hope serene.

Thou never wast to slavery prone,
Thou wast the safeguard of the West!
With full prosperity whene'er blest,
Never greedy,—Thou alone!

Ever faithful, bright and free,
Inviolat thy neighbor's right
Wouldst hold and never crush with might,
Thou—ever the child of Liberty!

Thou ever with dignity wouldst stand,
Thou struggledst with many a brutal foe,
While drums would beat and trumpets blow,
Though most glorious—unhappy land!

Thou of the Vistula, of the Baltic Sea,
Thy many undaunted children hadst led
To crimson glory,—while blood they shed,
The Crescent was dimmed—the Cross set free!

Bulwark of Christendom, thou hast
A name conspicuous, sublime
In the firmament of time,—
That ever is mentioned first and last.

The valiant of thy sacred soil,
The noble warriors, poets, sages,
Thy high-souled sons of different ages
Praised thy mission, extolled thy toil!

Then came the triple cruel blow,
The history's pages thou hadst made,
Brutally torn began to fade.
Thy fields were ravaged by ruthless foe!

Thrice thou failedst, alas, in strife,
Thrice thou bleddest, left alone,
At last a kingdom overthrown.
Thy heart—with wounds unheard of rife!

Yet thy valor never would fail;
Though pent up in a tyrant's thrall,
Dignified even in thy fall,
Freedom hath filled thy town and dale!

What though the tempest swept o'er thee,
What though thou wast in clanking chains?
Thou never wouldst crouch on thine own plains,
For aye a vanguard of Liberty!

The foe could never crush thy soul,
Though chains he tried and dreadful scourge!
Let him fetter the Ocean's surge,
Or silence winds, the Ocean's roll!

And now a hideous war doth rage,
The triple foe hath picked his lance,
In battle array the steeds now prance
To greatest war on History's page!

Sarmatia, thy sons on either side,
Must fight for enemy's weal or woe.
Them merciless cannon—bullets mow,—
Mars his bloody chariot must ride.

Thee our fathers gave in trust,
Thee thrice torn, the foes once more
Will wound and bleed as was of yore —
Mars must cloy his carnage lust.

Lo, Justice shall triumph,—thou art freed!
Thou shalt yet wear a cheerful brow,
Though stained with blood as thou art now,
Liberty pure shall be thy meed!



The Polish Question

By HELENA PIOTROWSKA

THE dynamic forces of history have at last broken through the placid crust of events important enough to be reported. Nations have been growing from the root, expanding their limbs and trunks, with always tightening metal sheaths of cannon and dreadnoughts encompassing their development. Queerly enough the constraining metal was considered a protection, a guide in the line of growth; the nations were trained to reach for outlying possessions while their very heartbeats were repressed. The brass and steel have at last clashed, the sheaths are rent asunder and the nations will stand revealed. With it the Polish Question reappears in the press and on the lips of the reading public, because Poland, politically non-existent, has yet remained a nationality. And it is in keeping with the deep tragedy of mankind that no amount of suffering, silent labor, and patient striving has gained for Poland the hearing

that the ukase of one of her oppressors gives her to-day. . . . Be it as it may, the Polish Question becomes again actual, important enough for the opinion of the greatest representative of democracy to reach for it, discuss it, conjecture upon it. This article will attempt to put together the current reports and to bring out their meaning in the light of Polish national life of yesterday.

Poland, at the time of her downfall, at the close of 18th century, contributed 282,000 sq. miles to the domains of her enemies; Prussia took 26,000 sq. miles, Russia 220,500, Austria 35,500. This territory was inhabited by 24 millions, of which 15 millions only were Poles proper. The political disappearance of a country, larger than Austria is to-day, caused no ripple in the diplomacy of Europe; probably because the submergence of Poland has been very gradual. For at least a century she has been a "sphere of influence" for the astute diplomacy of the

rising military powers of modern Europe. Finally Russia outgeneraled the others and led in the last act of the historical drama.

Besides, for the next quarter of a century the continent of Europe had been shaken by revolutions and counterrevolutions, with Napoleon as its evil star. Poland has been his self-deluded puppet. He experimented with her good will, always taking most and giving least; till in the days of reckoning on St. Helena, he acknowledged that by playing a traitor to the hopes of Poland he committed treachery against himself.

Poland meanwhile ceasing to be a state became more of a nationality. In spite of all persecutions and repressions, 24 millions to-day claim Polish as their mother tongue, 18 millions of which live compactly under the three foreign rules, 4 millions are in the United States and the rest lead the life of modern dispersion. Poland has lost ascendancy over other nations that she claimed once as

by the nation of masters into the nation of subordinates; Russia, on the other hand, claims that hers is the only arm strong enough to protect a Slavonic nation from the incursion of such a civilization. Both flood the country from aeroplanes with proclamations and promises—a modern manna to fortify the dwellers in the desert.

The ukase of the czar is reported favorably in the American press; it is even supposed to have aroused the jubilation of Poles; German news, about revolution in Poland against Russia and the desire of Poles to have one of the Hohenzollerns as their future king, is received with less credence. But in truth the Polish nation has had no liberty and no opportunity to express itself; the country, prostrated under the marches and counter-marches of armies, can not now exercise the liberty of press and word denied it in time of peace.

In spite of the chaotic view of the Polish Question, there can be no doubt that the present war means some-



The Basilica of the Blessed Virgin and Drapers' Hall (Sukiennice) in Cracow Courtesy Polish Daily News

hers by virtue of statecraft, but gained equally in strength as a nation in her own rights. There is no phase of social or economic life in which Poland of to-day does not show greater solidarity and virility than hundred years ago; the scope and excellence of her art and literature have been steadily rising. A growing nation, she looks upon the hundred years of her posthumous history as a continual struggle against the surging militarism of Europe. Officially Poland is not among the warring countries to-day—yet she has been at war with the same forces for a century. To-day she takes her last stand. Poland is the scene of bloody warfare between Prussia, Russia and Austria; the bitter irony of her aggressors flying at each other's throat, would be pertinent, were it not that the tussle takes place over her prostrate body and her own sons are fated to kill one other.

The tortured, humiliated nation is suddenly courted. Germany hastens to explain that her policy has been only the rather painful process of instilling higher civilization

thing for Poland—it may mean all. First of all, it means the breaking of the spell that Germany seems to have cast upon the court at St. Petersburg. Its policy heretofore has been Germanic, not Slavonic, it acted as a vanguard of Teutonic invasion, basing its aggrandizement upon the degradation of its own subjects. Freed from this tutelage, the international policy of the czars may experience a change of heart; but the present ukase can hardly be regarded as a sufficient basis for such hope.

It may mean only another attempt to play upon the good nature, incurable hopefulness and sympathy of the Poles. Deceived a hundred times, will they in their general neglect and despondency jump at the first condescending smile? There certainly is much to consider adequately to answer this question. We need to turn back only a few pages of history to see the Polish situation of to-day in a slightly different setting. The Congress of Vienna was apportioning Poland, the partisan of Napoleon, to his and her conquerors. Prussia and Austria were clamoring for

the territories acquired through former partitions; Alexander I, czar of Russia, aspired to become king of united Poland. To him the Polish patriots turned their hopes; he was after all the representative of a great Slavonic nation.

The venerable and venerated Kosciuszko wrote him: "Let His Imperial Highness proclaim Himself King of Poland, with a liberal constitution; let there be a system of elementary schools for the peasantry; let serfdom be commuted within ten years and let every farmer own his land, and I shall be the first, broken in health as I am, to present my homage to you as my ruler." The Czar's answer to the sick old hero was: "Your wishes shall be fulfilled. All difficulties are overcome. The valiant and noble nation shall be restored by the one whom it considered its enemy. Solemnly do I undertake this duty."

When the congress of Vienna began its conferences on the first of November 1814, Czar Alexander stood up for his plans. He argued that: "The partition of Poland was a crime, the moral consequences of which still weigh upon Europe, both ethics and diplomacy require Poland's restitution." But France and England viewed with distrust the growing ascendancy of Russia and were ready to restore Poland only under her own rulers; this met with the unanimous opposition of the despoilers. Finally Lord Castlereagh induced Alexander to accept a new apportionment of Poland, whereby Warsaw, held by Prussia, would pass under his rule. The new treaty was signed by the following countries: England, Austria, France, Spain, Prussia, Portugal, Russia and Sweden. Prussia and Austria lost part of their territory, Russia's Polish acquisition was made into the Kingdom of Poland with a liberal constitution and the Russian czars as hereditary kings. Furthermore, the congress guaranteed to the Poles so divided, freedom of religion, use of their own language, free trade, free intercourse among the dismembered provinces and their constitutional representation.

The terms of this treaty are still binding. It is one of those farces of history that become tragedies because the jugglers are so mighty. The good faith of Europe, if there was any good faith in this transaction, died of inanition, although both the spoilers and the spoiled gave continual proofs of maladjustment. Suddenly the Polish Question became the internal question of the conquerors; Europe dealt with it like a doctor prescribing a certain diet to his patient: he tells him what to eat but, of course, does not follow or control the process of digestion. Even the peace congress at the Hague turned a deaf ear to the efforts of Mr. Charles Lewakowski, a representative of the Austrian Reichstag, to present a petition on behalf of Poland. It did not dare to touch the really sore spots of the European status quo, and now in the crisis, its futility is apparent.

It took 15 years for the Russian promises to be worn threadbare; they could not stand much strain and broke totally down in the turmoil of the Polish insurrections of 1831 and '63. Alexander could not consistently deny to his subjects the liberties that he gave to the Poles and so he reversed the process.

These are the few stumbling blocks that the constitutional freedom of Poland under Russian rule was destined to encounter. The Polish diet soon discovered that the constitution was to bind the nation but not the king, that representative bodies were there only to discuss the proposition of the throne.

Lithuania and Ruthenia, integral parts of Poland at her first partition, were not joined to the Kingdom of Po-

land, as now constituted, reducing the latter to the insignificant size of 2,214 sq. miles with about 4 million inhabitants. This in itself has placed Poland in a hopeless disadvantage as compared with the huge body of Russia. The old eyes of Kosciuszko saw the discrepancy at once; he wrote in his letter to count Czartoryski: "We are grateful to Alexander for the name of Poland, but a name is not a nation. Without its due territory there will be no equilibrium of forces necessary to assure between Poland and Russia the desired mutual respect and permanent friendliness. I foresee that the name of Poland will fall into disrepute and Russia will treat her like a conquered province."

He saw only too clearly. Alexander made his brother, prince Constantine, the chief commander of the military and police forces. Russian regiments were stationed in Warsaw. Constantine, a man of unrestrained passions, domineering and cruel had seen Warsaw under the vast system of espionage. He provoked the Polish authorities everywhere and began against Polish patriotism that relentless war that is still raging. He flogged, tormented, imprisoned and exiled without any regard to justice or the institutions of the country.

The cycle of promises, hopes, attempts at liberty, reaction, cruelty and suppression repeated itself several times, always leading to the same end. Lately the struggle has been not only political, national and religious, but also economic. Thousands of Poles have been dismissed from the railroads of Poland; unions of Russian workingmen have been given preference in the public utility works to those of the Polish; the economic struggle of a population twelve times as large as that of Delaware on a territory only slightly larger, has been aggravated by the admission of masses of poor Jews that find in Poland their only stand in the dominion of the czars; large cities are overtaxed without selfgovernment; the whole country is practically always in a mild state of war.

A writer who had himself been a victim of these conditions wrote in one of the Polish magazines: "Nobody in Europe, nor even in Poland outside of the Russian dominion, realizes clearly to what an extent prison is a part of our everyday life, something ordinary and indispensable, and how visionary is the idea that the Russian rule in Poland can be based on anything else. There are respectable people that have served eight to ten terms in prison, others that never see the beauties of May, this being the month of patriotic and revolutionary demonstrations. At one time 200,000 people in Warsaw alone were on the list of suspects and this list always grows; since once a suspect always a suspect. The way of escape is only to the grave or into the ranks of the spies. Prison reports state that in every building there are frequently six times as many inmates as each is intended for. And the prison appropriations increase every year."

Yes, Poland has been to the very last in a state of war with Russia. There would be no Russian rule in Poland if it were not for the great armies of peace. Now armies have gone to war and Poland is tempted into loyalty by the traditional weapon of the czars.

The reactionary Duma last spring, the 25th of May, refused Poland autonomy and refused the use of Polish language in the administration of her cities. If the rule of the czars continues to be based on militarism and reactionary forces, Nicholas will truly be unable to keep his most sacred promises. There are forces beyond the control of the autocrats. But this does not make the position of Poland any less precarious.

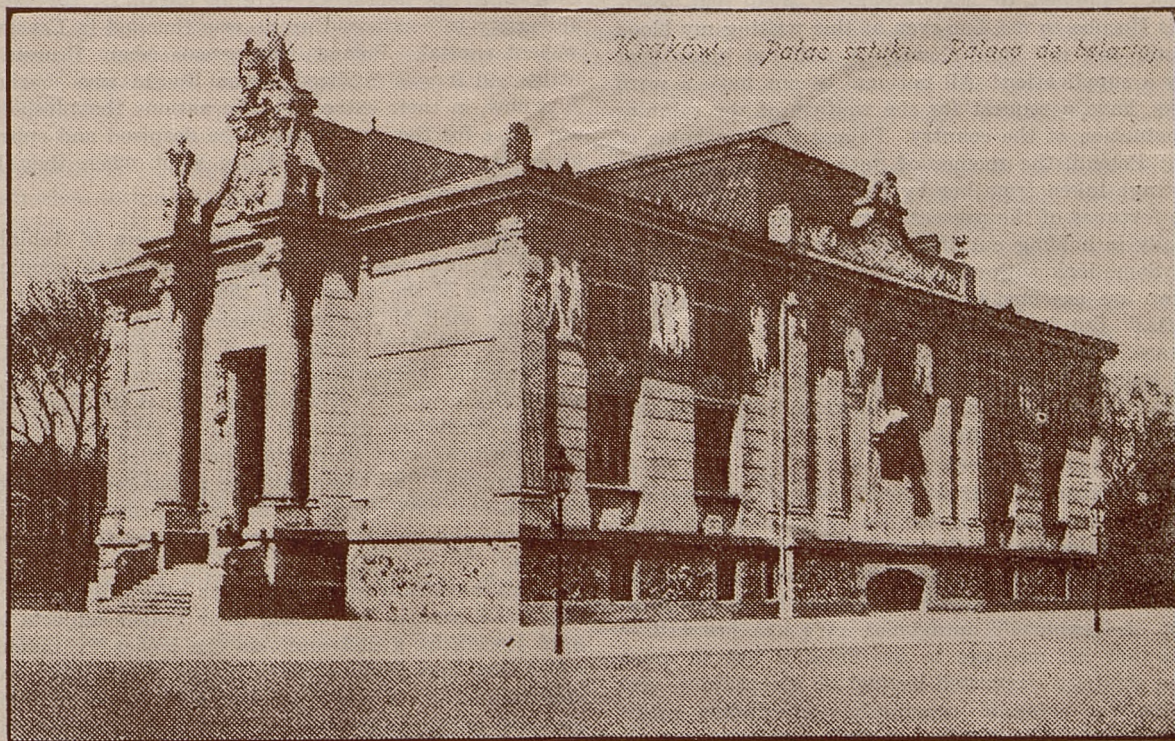
With all her treachery and primitive brutality Russia has never been so dangerous to the Poles as Germany. The higher civilization of the latter made her not more humane, but more efficient as a jailer. As in Russia a distinction must be drawn between the nation and its government, so in Germany there is a marked difference between Prussia and the other members of the Empire. Prussia has grown through the annihilation of the Slavonic peoples and through one long policy of treachery in her political dealing with Poland.

Historical events have been outgrown, but their spirit persists. The great Bismarck was the initiator of special laws against the Poles. In a constitutional country they are practically outlawed. This attitude of the government has encouraged the racial antagonism until the co-existence of Poles and Germans in the eastern provinces of Prussia has developed into an economic and

of 100,000 children rose in ineffectual protest against the outrageous policy of the Empire.

To remain under this iron rule means for the Poles total extermination. They look aghast at the purely German territory east of the river Elbe and see the bones of their Slavonic forefathers turned up by the Teuton ploughman; they look at their own fields, studded with prosperous German colonies and they feel indeed that it is a struggle of life or death. It is that, even to Prussia herself: should she lose her eastern provinces her leading role in the Empire is gone, for her policy of military expansion will not be countenanced by the German nation at large.

In the year 1410 Poland in union with Lithuania, leading other Slavonic nations, checked the Teutonic onset in the battle of Gruenwald; four years ago all Poles celebrated the 500th centennial of this victory by erecting in



Palace of Art, Cracow

Courtesy of the Polish Daily News

social warfare, in which the higher German civilization, backed up by the strongest government in existence, tries to disposses the Poles of their historical foothold.

The expropriation act of but a few years ago, the act prohibiting the seasonal laborers that work in different provinces of Germany to build homes on their own lots in the Polish provinces without a special permit which is generally withheld; a fund of hundreds of millions of marks used by the government to promote German colonization among Poles—these are some of the stringent and efficient means applied with German thoroughness to the Germanization of the Poles.

This daily economic persecution is aggravated by the abolition of the public use of the Polish tongue. Even little children in elementary schools are taught their prayers in German only, and there is no escaping a German school. As a result, we get stunted beings whose natural medium of development has been cut off and something hateful, dwarfing substituted. A school strike

Galicja, the Polish province of Austria, a mound, according to the old Slavonic custom. The soil from all provinces of former Poland was brought there; the bloodsoaked soil of many victorious battlefields and the soil from the graves of many exiles that found a refuge in America may be found in this mound making it not only a symbol of past glory but also of a present unified stand against an old foe.

It would probably tax the political acumen of a Gladstone to show Poland her foes and allies in the present war, and probably even he would not risk for the sake of the English interests in Asia to see Russia reaching for the Dardanelles and becoming overwhelmingly powerful on the continent, with all the Polish provinces and the other Slavonic states under her supremacy. It is very probable that the year 1915 will see another congress more international in its character than the one of a century ago, as it shall be more truly representative of the rights and needs of nations.

The Polish Question in the American Press

Nicholas Spielberg-Steyne in the Chattanooga, Tenn. News:—I have heard the national hymn of every nation on earth. I have read the national hymn of many nations, but to hear the Polish national hymn is to feel your heart and soul grow until it envelopes your entire, physical and mental make-up. I am not a Pole; I never was in Poland; I have seen but few Poles, but when I heard that hymn ring out on the stage, a large theatrical company throwing themselves prostrate in a church, I, knowing Poland's dearest hopes and wishes, and in that soul-piercing tone sang:

"Before thy sacred altar prostrated we beseech thee,
Give back, oh, give back, Lord, our own free country",

I am not ashamed to acknowledge I shed real tears. Poland is Hecuba to me, but even at this writing my blood runs faster and my hand slower. A national hymn that has only a supplication! All national hymns have a word of thanks, have a request for the welfare of the ruler or the perpetuation of the country. Poland wants a home of her own; Poland, the roomer of nations, wants back her little cottage taken from her by heartless robbers.

The fortunes of the present war are inscrutable. Russia already is holding out the first ray of hope of resurrection. Some look with suspicion on Russian magnanimity, for we are enjoined to "Beware of Greeks who come with gifts." But let us remember that the Poles are a Slavic race. True, Russia is the crude oil of the race, whereas Poland is the refined perfume of it; but for Poland's sake let us hope Russia will keep faith with this sweet, polite and dreaming nation.

Boston Transcript:—If we could believe the Czar sincere we should consider his bid for Polish support a reversion to the policy of Alexander I, who favored an autonomous kingdom of Poland under Russian suzerainty; but the autocrat of to-day is mentally far below the measurement of Napoleon's antagonist. We are justified in believing that his message to the Poles is but so much campaign strategy suggested by one of his advisers who appreciates the value of conciliating the Polish spirit wherever it is found. Words cost little and they can always be "interpreted in the light of facts." If the war goes against Russia the promise to the Poles can be quietly put aside as rendered impossible by the course of events. If Russia wins, the promise may be modified "in view of existing conditions."

Philadelphia Public Ledger:—FREEDOM is one of the most powerful weapons in the armory of the warring nations. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation weakened the Confederacy; and the Russian Czar is now trying to build up a buffer between himself and the Kaiser by offering freedom to the Polish provinces....

Now the Czar, not because he loves the Poles more, but because he loves Germany and Austria less, has promised to set up an autonomous Poland and declared that he will not lay down his arms till the German and Austrian empires are dismembered.

It is a shrewd move, especially as it is known that the Kaiser is making similar offers to the Poles under his protection. (Austria is also seeking to secure the good will of the Poles through similar means. Edit. Note.)

It is not only a prudent political course for autocracy

to follow, but it is a triumph for democracy. Thrones now are "broad based on the people's will", and if they are not to totter to their fall czars and emperors must cultivate the good will of their subjects. The citizens must be partners in the State and not mere pawns in the game of empire. They must be consulted regarding the imperial programs and they, as the majority shareholders in the great corporation, must really dictate its policy.

An autonomous Poland promises much for European democracy. And there is a poetic fitness in the situation for while the neighboring States were under the control of despots, Poland was to all intents a republic, a republic of the nobles, it is true, but none the less a selfgoverning State which elected its king. Moreover, it was enlightened when its neighbors were in darkness, for the first university in northern Europe was founded in Cracow, its ancient capital. Poland was great when Prussia was little, and it was civilized when Russia was barbarian. And now, in their extremity, the nations that despoiled it are suing for the sympathy of the despised and oppressed kingdom. No wonder the Poles wept when they heard the glad news!

Chicago Herald:—The Czar of Russia is credibly reported to have formally promised the Polish people that their share of the rewards of the anticipated victory over Germany shall be national reunion, with home rule, religious freedom and recognition of their national language.

National independence is not promised. What the Russian policy evidently contemplates is that the Hohenzollern and the Habsburg dynasties shall be stripped of the Polish provinces over which they have ruled for more than a century, and that there shall be a reunited Poland under the personal sovereignty of the czar, presumably occupying about the position of Hungary under the emperor at Vienna.

The manifesto is, of course, an effort to weaken Germany and Austria by leading their Polish subjects to regard Russia as a deliverer—as the power by turning to which they may justly hope to realize national aspirations long repressed. It is shrewd and bold stroke on Russia's part and quite possibly marks a whole-hearted reversal of Russia's former policy toward the Poles.

If the allies win and the czar's pledges are kept the Polish people may hereafter regard this war as one which, whatever its general and special injuries to others, brought to them at least the beginning of realization of dreams they have fought and suffered for through five generations.

Chicago Journal, under the caption "Poland is Popular Now":—Everybody is "making up" to Poland.

The czar is calling on Poles to help reunite their country under one flag—his flag. The Austrians are organizing unofficial companies of Polish riflemen. The Germans are putting out feelers for the "reconstitution" of Poland as a buffer state between Germany and Russia—though without saying what contribution they are willing to make to that same state.

Verily, the most unfortunate of nations does not lack for swains in this crisis. The Journal feels more convinced than ever that Poland is sure to gain much from the great war.

Her gains will make for peace, liberty and nationality. She can not win too much.

Baltimore American:—No more deliberate division of a nationality was ever perpetrated than the partition of Poland. Only a miracle was thought possible to restore its nationality and bring together its scattered portions of population and territory. Is the present war to work this miracle? Such is the indication. The promise of the Czar to the people who have been shorn of their national entity for 142 years that they shall have once more autonomous government has set the Poles of Russia wild with joy. It is believed this will have the effect of causing the Slavs in Galicia and Bohemia and the Holstein Danes to break away.

The Poles of Prussia have been long ill-treated, as have the Poles of Russia, and the entire race strain will be filled with the utmost enthusiasm to secure again their one-timed nationality, which the descendant of Catherine of Russia sheared them of in connection with Frederick the Great of Prussia.

The creation of this state would be a great barrier to Pan-Germanism in the view of experts. The movement shows the working of the forces for the revision of the map of Europe as it has not been altered since the times of Napoleon.

Washington, D. C., Times:—Not too much significance will be attached to the guarded promise of unity and autonomy which the St. Petersburg government has extended to Poland, as one of the fruits of the war. Perhaps Russia is prepared to grant that boon; but preliminary to granting it, there is the necessity of getting all Poland under Russian domination. Even if that be accomplished, the advantages of autonomy under Russian suzerainty will not be very apparent until it is made plain that Poland is to be granted the substance as well as the form of control over its internal affairs, and that the pledge of freedom in language and religion means quite as much at St. Petersburg as Poland would have it mean at Warsaw.

The pledges of the bear are always certain to be inspected and analyzed with a good deal of misgiving.

Montreal, Can., Star:—Russian diplomacy continues to justify its admirers. The Czar's proclamation to the spirited and warlike Polish people is nothing short of a stroke of genius just as war opens in a territory almost wholly Polish. The Russian armies are assembling in "the Polish Triangle" based upon Polish cities. The invasion of Austria will be through Galicia, the western part of which is Polish—and all of it Slav. That section of Germany which must bear the brunt of the Russian attack is the section which was torn from dismembered Poland. Consequently if the Czar can win to his side in this struggle the Polish people, he will have prevented any danger of uprisings in Warsaw and other Polish centres, attracted to his arms many brilliant soldiers of the Polish race and won the sympathy of the civilian populations in whose midst most of the fighting must take place.

German policy in Poland has not been conciliatory. That is where it has differed from the policy which Britain would have inevitably pursued under similar circumstances. The German and British theories of dealing with minority peoples, are the precise contrary. The Germans believe in systematically crushing out their local aspirations and national peculiarities and thoroughly "Germanizing" them. In Poland, they have closed Polish schools, tried to abolish the Polish language, and to penetrate Poland with German settlers. Britain displayed her notion as to the proper policy, in such a case, in South Africa, where

she gave the Boers self-government very soon after the War, and permitted them to keep up their schools, language and their institutions. The results are now apparent. The Boers are with us in this war, in spite of the Kaiser's cable to Kruger; and the Poles will probably be against the Germans.

Chicago Journal:—A great many Poles seem to have accepted at its face value the czar's promise of union and autonomy for their country. A great many others, however, remain suspiciously aloof. For this no one can blame them. Poland has learned in the school of experience the folly of putting her trust in princes. If the czar means to gain the full measure of possible Polish support, he must find some way to prove that his pledges will be made good.

The most convincing proof, of course, would be to proclaim the autonomy of Poland and call a Polish election at once; but in the pressure of war, that is hardly possible. Next best evidence of good intentions would be some form of international manifesto, by which France and England could underwrite the czar's promises. It would not be surprising if such a manifesto made its appearance very shortly.

The autonomy of Poland would be an immense blessing to Europe, as well as to the unhappy country most directly involved. A nation of about 20,000,000 people stretching between Russia and Germany, would be an efficient barrier to any renewal of the present strife. It would wall out the cossackism which central Europe dreads. It would exert a strong liberalizing influence throughout the Russian empire. It would make possible that general disarmament which has been the dream of philanthropists for decades.

In fact, the re-establishment of Poland would work so many changes—all in one direction—that it is hard to believe the Russian autocracy would take so tremendous a step. But destiny sometimes uses princes for good ends, even in their own despite. The old regime in France helped destroy itself by establishing a republic in America, and the czar may be writing a liberal constitution for his own country in the form of a manifesto to the Poles.

Boston Daily Globe:—Poland a Nation!

Is the dream of Kosciusko and of every Pole for the past 100 years about to be realized?

Out of the tumult of the European war there has come the first faint cry of what may prove to be the birth or rebirth of a new Nation—Poland. It is the first glimpse of anything that looks like a silver lining to this horrible war cloud that changes over Europe—the first inkling of one of the changes that may take place in the map of Europe if the Allies are successful.

Although the voice that has made the promise is that of the Russian Czar, it is almost certain that the sponsors for the promise are England and France. And it might be well if these two Nations were also to assure the Poles who are scattered over the wide world that Polish nationality is one of the prices to be exacted for this great conflict.

Granting that it is a serious promise, the first thing that can be said of it is that it is wise statesmanship, for the troubles of Europe will never be settled rightly until Poland has been restored to her place among the Nations. Even Beaconsfield perceived that, and other deep students of European affairs have been of the same opinion.

Chicago Tribune:—Little faith is placed by the Poles of Chicago in the czar's promise of autonomy of Poland. The Jews of this city likewise do not take seriously the reported promise of the Russian government to grant its Jewish subjects civil and political equality.

Viewed in the light of history, the skepticism of the Poles and of the Jews is justified. Promises to Poles and Jews have repeatedly been made by the Russian government in the past—and they were broken....

But history of the past is one thing and history in the making another. Russia has broken its promises to the Poles and the Jews in the past. But it seems altogether likely that it will not break them this time—at least it will not break all the promises it is alleged to have made. The reason for this is that the economic well being of Russia demands that Jews be given greater freedom and that the national humiliation of the Polish people cease.....

Necessity rather than magnanimity is dictating the liberal promises which the Russian government is making to the Poles and the Jews. And necessity will enforce them. Both of these oppressed nationalities are likely to emerge from the present war in possession of their full rights, if Russia fulfils only a part of what it has promised.

Ottawa, Can. Citizen:—It is interesting and instructive to note the Russian oligarchy making an appeal to Poland for sympathetic support in the present war. Land barons of Russia, Austria and Germany have pillaged Poland for more than a century, finally destroying all semblance of nationhood and endeavoring to crush out Polish ideals, language, and all sense of freedom. Now the Russian bid for support from the Polish people is a sort of a promise that, in the event of Russia winning the remainder of Poland from the German and Austrian land-grabbers, the dismembered nation will be restored to independence: independence guaranteed by Russia, forsooth.

During the Russian revolution of ten years ago the oligarchy at St. Petersburg made a similar promise to Finland, to keep the progressive and industrious Finlanders quiet while the Cossacks dealt with other disaffected parts of the Russian empire. With the aid of French and British finance, the myrmidons of the czar successfully crushed the revolutionary movement, and then turned their attentions towards Finland. Instead of living up to the promises given during the time of straits, the czar's government set about destroying Finland as it had helped to destroy Poland.

To All Lovers of Liberty

Every lover of liberty and believer in democratic ideals should work for the restoration of freedom and independence to the nation whose dismemberment was one of the most monstrous crimes of history.

To advocate the cause of Poland is not a violation of the principles of neutrality during the present European crisis.

To advocate the cause of Poland is to advocate:

The cause of justice,
The cause of humanity,
The cause of civilization,

The cause of liberty,
The cause of democracy.

The hope of democracy lies in its never ceasing progress.

A free Poland will add 25,000,000 warriors for the cause of democracy.

Kosciuszko, Pulaski and other Poles offered their services and even lives on the altar of liberty for this country.

Liberty-loving Americans may help the cause of Poland by offering one dollar as a subscription to this publication for one year.

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